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Capitalism At Bay

The Economic Enslavement Of The Masses

THE nations of the world will shortly meet in conference to pronounce extreme unction over the dying body of capitalism. How long the breath of life will remain in that body is a matter for conjecture; but the agenda of the Conference clearly proves that national leaders have given up hope of recovery, and that they can do no more than administer consolation.

Their deliberations, couched in phrases of magnificent emptiness, will fill the newspapers, unless a really big murder or sex case breaks; and since the politicians are expert salvagers of national despair, it may be assumed that they will use the occasion for personal propaganda which is designed to disprove the ancient fallacy that you cannot fool all the people all the time.

Gathering Destructive Energy.

No impartial student of the history of capitalism can doubt that present crisis is organic and mortal, and that even while the politicians and economists are murmuring words of comfort it is gathering more and more destructive energy. All the plans for revival will prove to be illusory. Dying men often indulge in roseate dreams of physical activity.

For the mass of people the ritualistic mumbo-jumbo of political neophiles can have no meaning. The pressing reality for the mass is to escape from the yawning grave which is even now waiting to receive the dead body of capitalism; for the quick cannot lie down with the dead. Nor can the living word of workers function healthily so long as it is chained to the corpse of capitalist theory.

Economic Vision.

I have pointed out before that a slave is a slave because he lacks the vision of freedom. There is a very real probability, with plenty of supporting historical evidence, that the workers will continue to be economic slaves after the interment of capitalism, unless they develop an economic vision commensurate with freedom; and that vision can only be realised through a complete understanding and appreciation of their present slavery.

These words "freedom" and "slavery" are not the tresserae of idealistic rhetoric; they can be defined by social conditions and tested under the hammer of human dignity. The former is rather vague, because it still lacks perfect translation in historical terms; but the latter describes the condition of every wage-worker under capitalism.

Forced Labour.

This fact cannot be gilded to look pleasant by those apologetes of capitalism, who maintain that individualist economics is a guarantee of personal liberty. There never has been any such liberty for workers in capitalist States; they are all of them serfs in the fullest meaning of the term.

The economic enslavement of the mass is an organic necessity of capitalism, which cannot function

without slavery, any more than the body can function without the organs of digestion. Karl Marx traced this necessity with scientific precision when he wrote: "Capital, in the social process of production corresponding to it pumps a certain quantity of surplus labour out of the direct producer, or labourer. It extorts this surplus, without returning an equivalent. This surplus labour always remains forced labour in essence, no matter how much it may seem to be the result of free labour."

Life blood of Capitalism.

This definition is so clear and certain that it renders extensive illustration here unnecessary. The production of surplus value by the workers for another class is the life blood of capitalism, and when that production ceases every capitalist State will collapse and the class-war will end, because there will be no extra advantage to fight about.

In the meantime, however, slavery will continue to flourish in forms more or less severe, but always degrading to the individual. Whatever form it takes it is vile when judged by standards of human dignity, and it compares badly with such a universally condemned system as chattel slavery.

For the chattel slave, unlike the wage slave, was certain to receive enough food and clothing to ensure his physical fitness for the tasks demanded of him by his master; but the wage slaves of capitalism have no such guarantee.

Not Free.

Nor is the modern proletariat any freer in the social sense than the serf. Freedom to him means death by starvation for if he refuses to accept work on the terms offered by his capitalist employers, he is forced to accept one of the two stinging alternatives; to die, or to break the law and be sentenced to imprisonment.

A man who loves freedom will prefer death, for death alone can snap the chain of slavery under capitalism. If he breaks the law and goes to prison, his labour power is merely coerced in a penal form; he becomes a chattel with the chattel's advantage of guaranteed necessities.

So he may be better off than his "free" brother.

The more intensely capitalism develops the more certainly must it exploit forced labour, without even a facade of moral pretence. This fact has been brilliantly demonstrated by an American economist, Mr. Walter Wilson, in a book which should be in the hands of every worker who wishes to understand and appreciate the raw facts of his economic slavery.

In America.

The development of capitalism in America during the past twenty years has been so rapid that it has had to resort to forced labour on a scale which is inconceivable here; but the facts which Mr. Wilson presents are startling only in magnitude. Essentially they throw no new light on the nature of capitalism; they show the full development of the potentialities of overt slavery which exists in every capitalist country.

Capitalism in America has gone the whole hog in its disregard

of human dignity. In order to swell that surplus value which is requisite to its existence it has resorted to a highly-organised system of economic exploitation by physical violence, justified by a body of laws which demonstrate to what lengths of moral bestiality it will go in order to maintain class advantages.

ORDERLIES IN GOVT. SERVICE

How They Are Used By Officers

OBJECTIONABLE PRACTICE

Auditor - General's Recommendation

"I think one of the very useful recommendations from this Committee, if it can issue and if Government can accept it, is to do away with the orderlies from the top to the bottom," submitted Mr. O. E. Goonetilleke, Auditor-General, in the course of the Public Accounts Committee inquiry on the report of the Auditor-General for 1930-31.

"I do not know whether this recommendation is going to be accepted," remarked the Auditor-General. "It will be a great pity if it is not. I do not think there is anything in the whole of the Government Service which is more objectionable. The practice has developed to such an extent that practically every field officer—even an overseer sometimes—has a personal attendant paid on the Check Roll. If a junior field officer has a roll of plans he is not going to carry it himself; he must have a labourer to carry it. He is allowed one labourer and he often has more. I can only find this out when I happen to do a surprise verification in the field. If I find one or two labourers short I question the supervising officer where he is, he will explain that he has gone to bring his breakfast. Of course, this practice starts from the top. Every superior officer has an orderly, he is sometimes called a circuit peon, &c.; he often becomes a domestic servant. I think the practice is open to serious objection. This system is not confined to the Public Works Department. You find it in the Forest Department, and some other Departments. Some senior field officers have two or three personal attendants.

The Chairman: Some of these orderlies are their chauffeurs.

Mr. Goonetilleke: Oh, yes. In addition to drawing a pay from Government, they are licensed motor car drivers.

Mr. de Fonseka: Cannot this matter be taken up in the course of the Budget?

Mr. Goonetilleke: If an orderly or personal attendant is required it must be specifically indicated in the Estimates.

of human dignity. In order to swell that surplus value which is requisite to its existence it has resorted to a highly-organised system of economic exploitation by physical violence, justified by a body of laws which demonstrate to what lengths of moral bestiality it will go in order to maintain class advantages.

In the slave history of antiquity there is nothing more terrible than Mr. Wilson's carefully-documented record of the production of surplus value in the United States by means of chain gangs, peonage, and ordinary convict labour; but moral indignation is pointless if it is not fortified by the determination of the masses in every capitalist State to resist authority deaf to ethical appeal.

Atrocities of Capitalism.

The "red rubber" chronicle of the Belgian Congo reveals little to compare with the atrocities of capitalism

Mangoes For London

TWO HUNDRED TONS ALREADY SWALLOWED

How India Creates A Market

Publicity campaign throughout Great Britain with the slogan such as 'eat more mangoes' is suggested as one of the best ways to popularise mangoes in this country, says the London correspondent of the "Patika." Inquiries reveal that over two hundred tons of Bombay mangoes have hitherto arrived in London market this season and the opinion is that trade combined with regular propaganda and regulated shipments of only the best quality of mangoes will provide great opportunities for Indian exporters. The latest shipments arrived in excellent condition but the quality is a little disappointing. Although mangoes are selling by various London City and suburban fruit shops general public is not quite sure what mangoes are. Thus it is felt that systematic publicity might make mangoes as popular as oranges. The fact that mangoes are generally retail-priced at six pence each also prejudices the public. Mangoes four pence each are expected to have a much bigger sale.

BASIS OF COMMUNAL MENTALITY.

Personal Ambitions at Cost of Community.

Personal ambitions were the basis of the mentality of communal leaders who magnify affairs of ordinary life giving them a communal touch which very often develops into the most dangerous forms of rioting etc. and takes a heavy toll of precious life, says Dr. Mohammad Alam in a signed article in the Urdu Daily "Taryaq" of Lahore.

This gives an opportunity, says Dr. Alam, to the communal leaders to bask in the sunshine and rise in official favour. Thus the communal leaders rise to fame and favour riding on the dead bodies of their own communities. In fact, these leaders are by their creating a serious menace to their religion (community), since younger generation is growing daily disgusted with a religion which is capable of such performances, engineered by fire-brand communalists

in the United States during the past two decades; nor has the part that Big Business has played in the legal terrorising of workers any adequate counterpart in the vilest colonial adventures of the Western Power.

Private sists of the type of Torquemada and Ivan the Terrible could teach nothing in the beastly art of torture to many American business-houses, whose names are household words.

Every statement who attends the forthcoming discussions to administer extreme unktion to capitalism will be aware of the facts set forth in Mr. Wilson's book; but not one has enough intelligence or moral strength to table a motion of inquiry in the excesses of the system.

They will all be concerned, exclusively with such abstractions as the

MARKETING CEYLON PRODUCE

Indian Competition A Difficulty

COMMITTEE'S REPORT.

Protective Measures Recommended.

The Committee appointed to make preliminary investigations and to report on the problem of marketing of produce grown in Ceylon, with special reference to the produce grown by small-holders, has submitted its recommendations.

The Committee holds that the best form of marketing organisation is provided by co-operation. It supports the flotation of a Public Utility Limited Liability Company and suggests that Government may assist by taking up or guaranteeing a certain number of debentures at a low rate of interest.

Indian Competition

In the course of its report the Committee states:

The main difficulty in the local marketing of the produce of the Ceylon peasant is the competition of produce imported from India. At present India can definitely produce cheaper than Ceylon. In these circumstances improvement of methods of cultivation and organisation of marketing are only palliatives and do not go to the root of the problem. If Ceylon is to get appreciably nearer to being self-supporting in the matter of her food supply Ceylon produce must be protected. We recommend that the provision of some measure of protection be carefully considered.

Protection can be offered in two ways. Tariffs are easier, cheaper, and more satisfactory, but are politically difficult to impose. A system of quotas is more difficult and expensive to work but politically more acceptable.

Protection

If some means of protection is decided on we do not see that its provision need affect in any way our good relations with India or our acceptance of Imperial Preference.

A necessary preliminary to any system of protection would be the appointment of a Commission to advise as to the general principles to be followed. A small Board would then be necessary to advise from time to time on details of working.

We discussed a proposal by Dr. Youngman to collect a cess on imported produce and utilize the proceeds to defray a part of the rail freight to the market on locally grown produce. Some amelioration might be effected by the proposal but we doubt if it is practicable or whether it could be made to provide sufficient protection to the local article to ensure successful competition with the imported.

The report is signed by Messrs. C. V. Grayne (Land Commissioner) L. J. B. Turner (Registrar General and Director of Commercial Intelligence), W. K. H. Campbell (Registrar of Co-operative Societies), W. L. Murphy, (Chairman, Colombo Municipal Council) and J. O. Hutson (Acting Director of Agriculture.)

(Continued on Page 4.)

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NOTICE.

I HEREBY give notice that I have on the 5th July, 1933 applied to the Government Agent, Northern Province, for the Licenses shown in the schedules 1 and 2 hereto annexed for the licensing period ending September, 30th 1934.

Schedule 1.

Name & address of applicant: A. Suppiah, Main Street, Jaffna.

Description of License: Foreign liquor retail

Whether application is for renewal of existing license or for a new license: For renewal

Situation of premises to be licensed: 3 Main Street, Jaffna.

Schedule 2.

Name & address of applicant: A. Suppiah, Main Street, Jaffna.

Description of License: Foreign liquor retail

Whether application is for renewal of existing license or for a new license: Renewal

Situation of premises to be licensed: 133 Clock Tower Road, Jaffna.

A. SUPPIAH,
Applicant.

Mis. 52. 6.



Hindu Organ.

THURSDAY, JULY 6, 1933.

PARTISANS OR CITIZENS?

If THE AGITATION FOR FULL RESPONSIBILITY Government is not to degenerate into an effort merely to provide opportunities for a few educated and influential individuals in each of the communities inhabiting the Island, it is necessary to bear in mind the fact that the reform of the Constitution is not an end in itself. The country as a whole will not advance by an inch if Ceylon-born black masters take the place

of the present white masters or King Log is substituted for King Stork. Political freedom is sought to enable us to be free in our country and shape our own destiny unfettered by control from outside. Power is demanded to help us realise our responsibilities to the country as free citizens. Self-Government is necessary to change the stifling atmosphere in which the nation is now compelled to live and move and have its being. Swaraj is not mere reform of political machinery; it means the renaissance of Ceylon. It touches the imagination of the people which reforms leave cold. In the atmosphere of freedom men and women, shaking off the fetters they have worn so long, realise themselves; they achieve wonders. Everywhere there will be a sense of freedom and buoyancy as of prisoners long held behind walls who taste the free air and see again the green space of the open country. With the ideal of freedom and fellowship set up before them everywhere, men will walk an inch taller and with a bolder step. Unless we propose to secure freedom for all, the machinery may be altered and the personnel changed but the policy of Government will remain the same as ever to exploit the masses to serve the interests of a powerful group in the country. What matters most is policy. If the present policy of Government were such as to give the nation freedom to express its soul, there can be no demand for any reform of the constitution.

Nowhere are the consequences of an alien policy more marked than in the field of Education. Bureaucratic schools turn out docile serfs, cringing flunkeys and shameless sycophants. When Government has no use for them, they cannot rely on their education to earn a living for themselves. They have lost the power of self-reliance, have no initiative or imagination. The ideal of the bureaucracy is the well-drilled soldier; the ideal of Ceylon should be the citizen of Greece. The one education crushes, represses; the other inspires the mind and thrills the soul.

The agitation for Self-Government is to enable every community and all communities in the Island to move forward without wasting talents, capacities and national resources. Those who accept this view of the movement for Reforms will not hang back but give their whole-hearted support to it. But, there is the communalist who claims to love his own community more than his country, as if his country and community were two independent and even, conflicting interests. He will dismiss as impractical idealism to see the prosperity of his community in that of the other communities in the Island. He cannot accept the view that real power is not so jealous of its neighbours as its counterfeit which denies others their share of it. Nor will he assent to the proposition that trust begets trust and that the interests of his own community would be best safe-guarded by trusting the major community. This is political suicide in his eyes. He feels himself too weak to stand on his own strength and compel the respect of the major community. He cannot, rather will not, understand that by working hand in hand with the major community in the common struggle for freedom, the minor community stands the chance of being better

understood and respected more than any undertaking reduced to writing. The communalist, too weak to make his importance felt by the major community, can only place obstacles in the path of the country's freedom, not knowing that every safe-guard given him now to secure his support is as a link in the chain which binds his community to the pillar of weakness. The trouble with the communalist is that he will not accept the limitations imposed on him by reason of numerical inequality but must crave for artificial or special recognition which in the end robs him of the stimulus necessary to command real recognition. "A minority which is given special representation owing to its weak and backward state is positively encouraged to settle down into a feeling of satisfied security; it is under no inducement to educate and qualify itself to make good the ground which it has lost compared with the stronger majority", say the learned authors of the Montford Report. Few people seem to realise that the success of the communal propagandist is bound to weaken us still further than the Manning Reserved Seat for the Tamils had done.

It is hardly necessary for us to point out that communal separatism is injurious to the growth of the citizen-spirit and tends to reproduce itself in the social life of the community in a variety of divisions and undermines the spirit of solidarity in the community.

Says the Montford report:

"Division by creeds and classes means the creation of political camps organised against each other and teaches men to think as partisans and not as citizens; and it is difficult to see how the change from this system to national representation is ever to occur."

These are words well worth pondering over!

Former D. C. Secretary on Misappropriation Charge

SPECIAL JUDGE TO TRY CASE

Two cases in which Mr. B. Emmanuel, former Secretary of the District Court, Jaffna, stands charged with criminal misappropriation of various sums of money belonging to the estates of the late Mathan Lal Bro., and the AR. R. SM. are fixed for trial on the 24th instant. Mr. O. L. de Kretser, will be specially gazetted to try this case in Jaffna.

Railway Service Disorganised.

NEW SIGNAL CABIN AT MARADANA

The bringing into operation of a new signal cabin at Maradana has caused the disorganisation of the railway service on the Main, Coast and Puttalam lines and resulted in the trains arriving late in Jaffna on Monday night and Tuesday day. The mail which was due in Jaffna at 7 a. m. on Tuesday arrived about five hours late.

The trains arrived at scheduled time yesterday and today and normal working has been resumed.

Nainativu Temple Car Festival

The annual high festival of the Nageswari Ambal Temple at Nainativu, which began on Wednesday, has with considerable fervour and

THESAWALAME-II

THE DOWRY SYSTEM

ITS MALABAR ORIGIN

By V. Coomaraswamy, B. A., Proctor

(Special to the "HINDU ORGAN")

THE Dowry System is a social institution peculiar to Jaffna. The Dutch Code of Thesawalamé lays down definite rules for the allotment of a Dowry to females at the time of their marriage. "The Dowry," according to the Code, "is taken indifferently either from the husband's or wife's property or from acquisition as they think proper. The nearest relations, either on the father's or mother's side, from a particular regard to the bride, often enlarge the Dowry by adding some of their own property." There is the further provision that a surviving parent may give to a daughter by way of Dowry, a major portion of the deceased parent's property,—an exception to the general law which does not confer on the survivor a right of alienation of the deceased spouse's property for any other purpose. Ample latitude is given in our Courts to the plea of acquiring title to immovables by Verbal Dowry coupled with prescriptive possession, though such a plea in respect to any other transaction effecting lands, under similar circumstances is liable to be ruled out *in limine* for want of a Notorially Attested Document in proof of the same.

Property to Females.

Such is the undue importance attached to the grant of Dowry to females in Jaffna that Sons did not inherit anything from their parents' property till provision was made for the Dowry of the last of the daughters in a family. And again there were the general principles of the old customary Law of Jaffna that females succeeded females and a dowried sister and her descendants succeed to or inherit another dowried sister's property, when she dies issueless, to the exclusion of brothers and their descendants. Again, property of a deceased on failure of descendants and uterines reverts to the source whence it came, so that, the property coming from the mother's side goes to the mother's side relations. All these principles are clearly traceable to a state of society in which the tendency was to tie down the property to the females of a family and pass it on to females from generation to generation.

From Matriarchal to Patriarchal System.

Some ethnological scholars suggest that the Dravidian family organisation passed from the Matriarchal System to the Patriarchal System. The Matriarchal System, they contend, was the original phase of the Tamil society in which "the mother seems to have been the head of a family and the property seems to have descended from the mother to the daughter." The Aryan conception of Marriage and married life was avowedly designed for the procreation of sons, *Putras* who are supposed to redeem their parents and even remote ancestors from hell-fire by the performance of *Shradha* oblations etc. as prescribed in the Hindu Shastras. The contact with the Aryans and the adoption of the Aryan religious practices by the Tamils led to a gradual transition from the original Matriarchal System obtaining among them to the Patriarchal System of the Aryans and to the final adoption of the Patriarchal System known as the *Makkal Thayam* (மக்கல் தாயம்), as distinguished from the *Marumakkal Thayam* (மரமக்கல் தாயம்) which is a modified adaptation of the Matriarchal System.

A Refutation

Other scholars who refute the above theory contend that since early

historic times the Patriarchal system alone has been in vogue for ages everywhere throughout South India among the Dravidians. It is also pointed out in support of the above refutation that the Matriarchal System is unknown among the lowest castes and the hill and forest tribes of South India, which have remained practically unaffected by Aryan Civilisation in all other matters and that the only people who seem to have adopted the Matriarchal System are some of the higher castes of the Kerala country and the *Pendukku Meykku* Subcaste of the *Idayans* of the Madura District.

Without going into the details of the pros and cons of this controversy we may arrive at the correct conclusion by taking into consideration a few geographical and historical facts about Kerala or Malabar, the locality to which the Matriarchal System is practically confined.

KERALA—ITS GEOGRAPHICAL POSITION AND HISTORICAL ANTECEDENTS.

The reader should take care at the very outset not to start with a confused idea that Malayalam is a language different from Tamil and that Kerala is not a Tamil country in the sense in which we talk of the other Dravidian Languages and countries, e.g. of Telugu and Kanarese and of the Andhra Desa and Kannara Desa. Malayalam dialect is, to use the words of a modern Travancore Statesman, nothing more nor less than "old Tamil with a good admixture of Sanscrit words." The Kerala Desa was and still is a part of the Tamil land with customs, usages and laws slightly divergent from the rest of the Tamil lands,—the Pandya and Chola Desas,—by reason of its geographical isolation and historical antecedents.

From the days of Tholkappiar, Madura the centre of South India or refined Tamil was surrounded by 12 other *Kodunthamil* or *Vulgar* Tamil lands, all comprised in the geographical limits of Tamilakam (தமிழகம்). Mr. Kanakasabapillai, in his "Tamil Eighteen Hundred Years Ago" had shown that five out of the twelve Nadus of *Vulgar* Tamil viz. Poozhi (பூழி), the sandy regions, *Kulam* (குளம்) the western region (3) *Kuldam* (குல்டம்) the region of lakes (4) *Ven* (வேன்) the region of bamboo groves and (5) *Kutka* (கூத்கா) the rocky region (the region of the Western Ghats) form the Kerala Country.

The first four of the above regions run from North to South fringing the Arabian Sea and the fifth is a mountainous region in the interior, a chain of lofty ranges with narrow passes and a dense forest behind, Kerala was, thus, in days of yore easy of communication by sea and difficult of access by land from the rest of Tamilakam on the East.

Foreign Influences

By reason of the facilities of communication by sea with the Western countries, foreign religious sects, the Jews, Christians and Arab Moors had settled down in Malabar in the early Centuries of the Christian Era. Even in the matter of the Aryan influences that were brought to bear on the Tamil land by the colonisation of the Brahmins, Kerala ran a different course from that of the Chola and Pandia Countries.

The Colonisation of Brahmins, that is referred to here, is not the earlier colonisation of the days of Agasthya and Kapila and the Sangam poets, but the later one of the days of the Saiva Saints and the Vaishnava Alvars and the religious revival that followed the expulsion of Buddhism and Jainism from South India, that is, between the eighth and eleventh centuries.

The *Bhattar* (பத்தர்) that came to the Chola and Pandya countries officiating priests in Temples etc. so said to have come from the North East, from among the Gauda Brahmins of Bengal and Behar etc.

These kept themselves as a distinct and separate class by themselves and were rigid and strict in their observance

vance of religious rituals, and formed no alliance with the Tamil Castes or tribes amongst whom they settled, forming several Chaturvedi Mangalam or Brahmin Colonies.

Unfortunate Results

But the Nambudris or Nambis who settled in the Kerala country are said to be Aryan settlers from the North West. Tradition has it that these Brahmin settlers were brought down from Punjab by Parasurama and settled, first at Gokarna in South Kanara and subsequently spread their colonies on to all parts of Malabar.

In order to prevent them from going back to their native place, Parasurama is alleged to have made them shave off their hind locks (ചുട്ടുകുടി) and rear locks in the front and on this account they were known as Brahmins with Purvasikai (പുറംകിടം-முருகுநீர்) or growers of their tuft of hair in the front.

Unlike the Pattars the Brahmin settlers in Chola and Pandia countries who strictly abstained from any alliance with any of the Tamil castes or tribes, the Nambudi Brahmins freely mixed up with the Nayars and other touchable castes in Malabar and formed matrimonial alliances with them and the results have been most unfortunate.

Disastrous

Though as a priestly class the Nambudris wield a large influence and power over other castes in Malabar including the Royal Families, they are looked down on as an inferior class of Brahmins by the Battas and other Brahmins of the Chola and Pandia countries. Even in the matter of religious the contribution of Kerala was very little. After the days of Saint Cheraman Perumal, a contemporary and friend of Saint Sundarar, and Kulasekhara Perumal, one of the Twelve Alvans and author of Perumal Thirumozhi (பெருமாள் திருமொழி) there were no spiritual teachers of repute in the Kerala country.

The number of Saiva & Vaishnava Temples that sprung up in the Kerala country as the result of the Hindu rival consequent on the extinction of Buddhism & Jainism in the Tamil land, is but a dozen or a score in contrast to the many scores of sanctuaries of the Pandya realm and the hundreds of Temples on the Northern and Southern banks of the river Cauveri in the Chola country.

The later developments of Philosophic Hinduism of the Tamil land, the Saiva Siddhanta and the reformed Vaishnavite doctrines of Madhya and Ramanuja failed to make even a feeble impression on the people of Kerala.

Still more disastrous was the result of the Nambudri domination over the Kerala country in regard to Tamil learning and culture.

Chera Contribution.

The Chera country had made a distinct contribution to ancient Tamil Literature. The early Chera Kings were patrons of Tamil Poets who formed a 'literary school and developed a Court Language'. To this school of poets must be attributed the 'Ten Tens' (பத்தபத்த) and 'The Five Short Hundreds' (ஐங்குறுநூறு), poems in praise of the early Chera Kings.

Silappathikaram, our grand Tamil Epic of the 2nd Century A. D. was a unique contribution by a Chera Prince. Another Chera Prince Aiyararinar was the author of Pura Porul-Veubamalai (புறப்பொருள் வெண்பாமலை) in the 7th Century A. D. Cheraman Perumal's religious contributions have been included in the Eleventh Saiva Thirumurai and the spiritual yearnings of Prince Kulasekara in his Pathikams, the 'Vithvak koddaman' (i. e. 'The Lord of Vithvakoddu) etc. have found a place in the Vaisnava Hymnology of Nalayira Prabandams.

Now, this Kerala section of the Tamil race which had contributed so much to the cause of Tamil Culture secular and religious till the 8th or 9th Century A. D. fell a prey to the domineering sway of the Nambudri Brahmins. From the tenth century onwards the Tamils of Kerala were being gradually snared into the tentacles of the peculiar Brahminic Culture of the Nambudris.

The relationship by marriage alliances of the Pandya and Chola Kings with the Chera royal families however kept up the social, cultural and religious affinities of the eastern regions of the Tamil land with Kerala till the beginning of the 14th Century A. D., when the Cholas and Pandias ceased to exist as rulers; and with the extinction of the Royal family connections, the isolation of Kerala from the rest of the Tamil countries, the catastrophe was complete.

The aggressive Nambudris joined hands with the Chera-Princes to prevent any foreign intervention in the social, religious and political affairs of Kerala.

Neglect of Tamil

The Tamil Language and Literature came to be neglected and the result was the rise and growth of a language which was a corruption of both Sanskrit and Tamil and which can find no rules of Grammar in either language to justify such corruptions and contractions. The climatic conditions of Kerala, with incessant rains throughout the year and the consequent nasal affections of the people, facilitated the perversion of 'அ, இ, உ, ஊ, ஋, ஌' of Tamil words into 'க, ச, ஞ, ஞ' and 'ஊ, ஋, ஌' respectively to crown the tale of phonetic corruption.

Several centuries after these strange vicissitudes of linguistic perversion and phonetic corruption of Tamil, and spiritual decadence in Kerala, it is refreshing to note that there appeared in the closing decades of the last and the first decade of this century, in this very land, a scholar of great eminence and a Tamil poet of no mean order, who though cut off in the prime of his life, was destined to give the impetus to the modern Tamil renaissance in South India. I mean the late lamented Professor Suntherampillai of Trivendram. It was an irony of history that Malabar, given up as irretrievably lost to the Thamilakam for centuries, should have given birth to a son who sounded the clarion call to all Tamil patriots to refresh their ever young Tamil (கன்னிதமிழ்) to suit modern times. He was the first to claim a greater antiquity for Tamil, compared with which, he said, Sanskrit was but a language of yesterday and to the literature of which Sanskrit could not even hold a candle. At the same time he made no disguise of his sense of the misfortune that had befallen Kerala and in his Manon maniam he refers to himself as (மனம் மனம் குடியிரு புகடயேன்) 'I have my abode in perverse Malabar,' and the attribute மனம் is pregnant with the ideas of the Author as to Malabar's perversity to Tamil culture &c.

Nambudris also contrived to make themselves the owners of lands which originally belonged to the Tamil people, - the indigenous castes and tribes of Kerala - often by recourse to dubious devices. The indigenous tribes were reduced to a state of subjection and dependence on the Brahmin settlers.

No Nambudri Influence

I have digressed so much into details of Nambudri domination in order to refute the opinion of some scholars that the Tamils and other Dravidian races had never been subject to the Matriarchal System and that it was the advent of the Nambudris that introduced the Matriarchal system in the Kerala country, which System the Nambudris and a few of the indigenous castes allied to them adopted and that the transition in the case of these Dravidian tribes, the Nayars etc was a transition from the Patriarchal to the Matriarchal System, and not vice versa.

But this is contrary to ascertained facts of history. First, the Nambudris themselves are not entirely governed by the Marunakkal Thajam Law. They are subject to this Law so far as they are members of an Ilam (இலம்) or an indigenous Family Group of Malabar governed by it. In other respects they are governed by the Hindu Law as it existed at the time of their settlement in Malabar.

Secondly, The Nambudris found their way into Malabar only in the 7th or 8th Century A. D. But ample evidence is furnished by our ancient Tamil Literature, Silappathikaram and the 'Ten Tens' (பத்தபத்த) that the Nepotic System (நெப்டிக் சமயம்) was in vogue in regard to the succession to the Chera throne, i. e., a sister's son succeeding his maternal uncle has been the invariable custom of the Chera Kings just as it is the case today in the Malabar States of Travancore and Cochin. No Nambudri influence can be attributed to these early Chera Kings referred to in ancient Tamil Literature.

On the other hand, it suited the Nambudris very well to perpetuate the Matriarchal System. It encouraged them to enter into alliances with women of other castes, rather recklessly, as long as they took no paternal responsibility, for the offspring of such alliances and such offsprings had to be maintained out of the family funds of the Ilam (இலம்) Group to which the mother belonged, and inherited property derived from the mother's side and not from the father's side.

The domination of the Nambudris in Kerala served only to check the

CONGRESS POLICY

Withdrawal Of C. D. Movement? MERE CONJECTURE

Pandit Malaviya's Statement

"The views that have been ascribed to me on the questions of the withdrawal of Civil Disobedience and the entry of Congressmen into the legislatures are a mere conjecture," declared Pandit Malaviya in an interview with the 'Hindu' correspondent. "It is wrong to suggest that I strongly favour the entry of Congressmen into the legislatures of the future, irrespective of the character of the new Constitution. We must know what the constitution is like before we can judge whether we shall best serve the interests of the country by entering the legislatures set up under it or by leaving them alone and devoting our energies to organising national opinion to insist upon a transfer of power from British to Indian hands.

"As regards the question of the withdrawal of Civil Disobedience, the decision regarding it will depend upon the policy or programme which will be decided upon at the conference. When I am going to take part in the Conference, one should not imagine that I have come to a final decision on the subject without discussing it with those esteemed public men who are going to meet at Poona.

"As regards Pandit Jawaharlal's views, while he is still in jail and therefore not in a position to express his opinion, it is unfair to him to conjecture that he is either opposed or not opposed to the withdrawal of Civil Disobedience.

I certainly desire unanimity not only among the members of the Congress Working Committee and Congressmen generally, but among all Indians who believe that the interests of the masses of our people demand the establishment, at the earliest possible date, of self-government in our country, and I will of course do all I can to promote it. In such unity alone lies all our future hope."

natural course of evolution of the Matriarchal System of the Tamils and its transformation to the Patriarchal System which had become a fait accompli in other parts of the Tamil land.

By reason of the decay and corruption of the Tamil Language by the recent growth and development of Malayalam on the ruins of Tamil and by reason of the stunting and dwarfing of the process of natural social evolution consequent on the combination of a geographical isolation with the unfortunate historical antecedents stated above, the Kerala land offers a fine field for research to the Linguist and the Ethnologist.

In the Modern Malayalam as well as in the ancient Tamil Literature produced in the Chera country we find a vast store of Tamil words and phrases which had become obsolete in other parts of South India, but are kept intact in the Malabar colloquialisms as well as in its modern Literature.

Similarly, Kerala is the home of many usages and customs, of the primitive Tamil people, which have fallen into disuse or have been replaced by others under Aryan influences in other parts of the Tamil land. But Malabar retains such usages and customs as they were before the advent of the Nambudris, stunted and checked in their further course of development. Of particular interest are such usages and customs to the people of Ceylon, Sinhalese as well as Tamils; one of the earliest names of Ceylon was Seyandib (செயண்டிப) or 'Island of Chera.' The easy access by sea between Kerala and Ceylon established many a contact between these two countries from early times and many of the usages and customs of the Tamils as well as of the Sinhalese of this Island are ultimately traceable to Kerala. One such is the connection between the Marunakkal Thajam Law of Malabar, the Dowry System of Jaffna, and the Kandyan Dowry Marriage Law, and amongst many an aspect of further consideration in detail.

FATAL CAR ACCIDENT

Turns Turtle On Way To Madhu

ALL PASSENGERS INJURED: ONE DEAD

A serious car accident in which one died and 12 others were injured occurred at Nochchimottai, a village three miles from Vavuniya, on the Jaffna road. The car H 1045 which started from Achuvely, with a party of 13 pilgrims to Madhu ran into a drain and turned turtle.

It is reported that at mid-night, on Sunday the driver, seeing a black object in front, swerved the car to a side, with the result that it ran into a drain and turned turtle. All the occupants, including two women, sustained injuries. All the injured persons were first removed to the Vavuniya Hospital. They were then removed to the Jaffa Civil Hospital, where Bastiaupillai Chelliah, a brother of the Udayar of Achuvely and who had been unconscious from the time of the accident succumbed on Tuesday noon. Chellappah, one of the injured is in a critical condition.

The Jaffna Hindu College, O. B. A.

ANNUAL CELEBRATIONS FIXED FOR JULY 15.

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the Old Boys of the Jaffna Hindu College was held yesterday at 5:40 p. m. at the College hall. Mr. A. Coomaraswamy, M. A. (Lord), Bar-at-Law, the Principal, presided.

15th day of July 1933 was fixed for holding the annual general meeting. A Reception Committee consisting of the Principal, Dr. S. Thuraiappah and Messrs. V. Ramalingam, S. Adchalingam, T. Muttusamipillai, C. Sabaratnam and S. P. Rasiah was appointed.

The following were appointed to collect funds for the annual celebration:

Messrs. A. Kanapathipillai, T. Muttusamypillai, C. Sabaratnam, S. Patanjali, S. P. Rasiah and S. Balasubra maniam.

Plague in Colombo.

TWO CASES IN SEA STREET.

Two cases of bubonic plague were discovered in Sea Street last week, one being that of a boy employed in a boutique, and the other of a labourer, who succumbed to the disease. All precautions have been taken to prevent the disease spreading, and a gang of men are busy cleaning up the most congested part in the locality.

Karaveddy Central Dispensary

PROTEST AGAINST CONVERSION

A deputation from Karaveddy waited on the Executive Committee of Health on June 28th, and protested against the conversion of the central dispensary into a branch dispensary. The Committee has decided to give the matter further consideration.

Personal

Mr. K. Kanagaratnam, Assistant Accountant, Electrical Department, has been appointed Chief Accountant, Electrical Department.

Mr. V. Thiyagarajah, Parcels Office, G. P. O., has been appointed Post Master, Inco—Ceylon Travelling Post Office.

DEVELOPMENT OF INDUSTRIES

Labour Ministry's Report

INDIA'S EXPERIENCE

Jaffna Tobacco And Other Industries

The question of re-constituting the staff of the Technical School, so as to enable it to undertake original research in industrial problems may be considered," states a Report of the Ministry of Labour, Industry and Commerce dealing with the question of the need for industrial research and the development of Ceylon's industries. "The present principal is a qualified engineer, and a further training in Industrial Engineering would equip him to discharge the functions of an Industrial Engineer. The additional appointment of an Industrial Chemist would be necessary and a scholar from the University College may be allowed to proceed abroad under the general scheme of Government Scholarships to qualify himself in industrial chemistry. Thus equipped the Technical Schools may become the nucleus of the department of industries.

Experience of India

"The reports of the Industries Departments of Bombay, Madras, Travancore and Mysore" it goes on to say "show that these departments have had occasion to deal with problems and industries identical with those of Ceylon, and it is suggested that arrangements be made to obtain from them the results of their researches on such industries and problems. It would perhaps be possible to induce them even to undertake separate investigations. For instance, the Bombay Industries Department has made investigations into the manufacture of paper from rice straw, glass and vegetable ghee, and estimates are being at present prepared regarding lead pencil manufacture, umbrella fittings and accessories manufacture, of buttons. Mysore Industries Department has experimented on refining of oils, isolation of caffeine from tea fluff, and wood distillation and the brick and tile industry is one enquired into by the Madras Industries Department. What is most useful in the activities of these departments is the provision of estimates of cost to include both the necessary fixed capital and working capital. In view of the similarity of Indian and Ceylon conditions, those estimates with some modification in detail may be made to apply to Ceylon conditions.

Joint Meetings

"It would be possible to bring up the material already available to a point at which it would be of immediate use to a Committee on Industrial Research. Since it would require the co-ordination of several Government Departments, the question of holding joint meetings between the Executive Committee of Labour, Industry and Commerce and the other Committees concerned may be considered in order to devise the best method of bringing about the necessary co-ordination with the assistance of the Department of the Registrar-General and Director of Commercial Intelligence.

"Comprehensive enquiries have been or are being made by the Department of the Director of Commercial Intelligence on coir yarn and manufacture, tobacco, Jaffna tobacco industry and tea chests. Samples of Ceylon clay have been sent to the Public Works Department to ascertain their suitability for use in the manufacture of distemper, and samples of coconut, kilid and janyrak jaggery have also been sent to the Industries Department, Travancore, to conduct experiments as regards their conversion into sugar.

So far as the material available in the office of the Director of Commercial Intelligence is concerned, the coir fibre and manufacturing industry, says the Minister, would take the first place followed by Tapica as the industries most suitable for development at the present moment.

Manipay Young Men's Association.

"One interested" writes:

A Young Men's Association has been recently started at Manipay to work for the progress of young men living at Manipay and adjoining villages. It provides for the development of virtues necessary for good and valuable citizens. The members of the agricultural and physical sections have already done work which has evoked the admiration and sympathy of the people of the villages. The officers are all men of learning and culture and their devotion to the work is honorary and effective.

It is hoped that the young men of the locality will soon come to know of the full advantages of joining this association and that they will join it and avail themselves of all the opportunities afforded through it.

CAPITALISM AT BAY

(Continued from page 1)

gold standard, tariffs, exchanges, and currencies, because the dying carcass which they represent will not permit them to remember their duty to the masses. It will exact the allegiance of every fool and coward until it draws its last breath.

Dictates of Big Business

The representatives of President Roosevelt especially, know that the system which they will defend at the Conference, with heroic and sentimental moralisings, is daily inflicting tortures on thousands of American men and women, whose only crime is the lack of property, and that these barbarities are often committed at the dictates of Big Business.

If this country can show nothing to equal the excesses of American capitalism it is not because the system here is inspired by higher ethical motives. As the economic crisis develops, and the necessity to produce surplus value becomes more urgent, there is every probability that wage-slavery will assume more violent forms.

Another Period.

The Conference on which, as the masses are told, "the fate of the world depends, appears, under an impartial analysis, to be no more worth the attention of the workers than a "wild party" of social desperadoes in May-fair, except that its decisions—if any—may lead to a further sacrifice of working-class standards of living to the Moloch of capitalism.

But until the masses are aware of their conditions there is little hope of their bestirring themselves on their own behalf. Doomed to slavery by a slave mentality, they may, indeed, defend their exploiters; but unless they act in their own interests, the open grave which is now waiting to receive the capitalist corpse, will engulf them for another period of economic and social slavery.

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